



By Congressman
Vito Marcantonio

SHOULD AMERICA GO TO WAR?

AMERICAN LEADERS FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE, representing all political, religious and national groups, are saying "Half-way measures are not enough! To smash Hitlerism we must overcome all obstacles to full and complete aid Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China! And we must do it immediately!"

Congressman Vito Marcantonio, vice-chairman of the American People's Mobilization, has outlined the immediate needs and objectives of a smash-Hitler foreign policy. A.P.M. herewith presents his speech, made on the floor of the House of Representatives on October 16, in the belief that it constitutes the clearest expression of America's need that has come from Congress. It should, and it must be read by hundreds of thousands throughout the land.

Should America Go to War?

MR. MARCANTONIO: Mr. Chairman, an analysis of the Record will show that from the very inception of Congressional debates on the various issues pertaining to our foreign policy, I have consistently opposed all steps which I deemed to be steps in the direction of involving the United States in an imperialist war. I believed then, in 1939 and in 1940, that the war of 1939 and 1940, up to the 22nd day of June, 1941, was a war between two Axes, the Wall Street-Downing Street Axis versus the Rome-Tokyo-Berlin Axis, contending for empire and for exploitation of more and more people.

I believed then that the war of 1939 and 1940, up to June, 1941, was an imperialist war. I still believe that the war of 1939 and 1940 and up to June, 1941, was an imperialist war.

However, I maintain that from the standpoint of defense of our nation, the liberties and the national interests of the people of the United States, the invasion of the Soviet Union by Hitler transformed that war which was predominantly imperialist into a war which is now essentially one of national defense. Therefore, in such a war of defense, all questions become subordinate to the interests of defense. Further, the

people throughout the world and particularly in the existence of the United States depended on an uncon-
United States have become, since June 22, 1941, a Hitler conquest of either made
more and more involved in a war of defense and the Hitler conquest of the other almost a certainty.

guarantee a democratic peace after the military defeat of Hitlerism. A war of defense becomes a democratic
war and insures thereby a defeat of imperialist purposes.

MR. MARCANTONIO: Yes.

after the destruction of the common enemy, Hitler. MR. BARRY: When Russia was Hitler's ally, were
not in just as much danger as we are now?

At no time during my consistent opposition to the imperialist war did I base my opposition on reasons of
pacifism. I have at all times stated that if I had believed that the treaty of non-aggression
between Hitler and Russia was not a treaty of allies;
that the war then was a war of defense, that if the war at the Soviet Union had, but would not give to Hit-
only for \$16,000,000,000 or \$65,000,000,000, but that the materials he needed for his schemes, and Hitler
was ready not only to vote the entire Treasury of himself has proven by his invasion that there existed no
United States for the prosecution of such a war, but also a threat to his
for active participation in such a war. Why has the character of world conquest.

character of the war changed? What are the reasons? You will find your answer in Mr. Hitler's speech,
which lead me to believe that a war which was pre-announced on the eve of the invasion of the Soviet Union.
dominantly imperialist has become essentially a war on national defense for the people of the United States.
that speech he stated that he could not carry out his
national defense for the people of the United States, that he could not invade various parts of the

The first reason is one of geography. A look at the world as long as he had on his eastern frontier a strong,
map will demonstrate that a conquered Soviet Union would place a Nazi military bridgehead within row-
boat distance of our own northwestern shores, Alaska.

MR. BARRY: Did not Stalin share the spoils of con-
quered Poland, when he took the half of Poland?

You cannot get away from that. Secondly, in the world MR. MARCANTONIO: I submit also that time and
of 1940 and the early part of 1941 Hitler could not have demonstrated—and everybody will have
move against the Western Hemisphere. We were not to admit it, irrespective of your feelings toward the
military danger as long as Hitler had on his eastern frontier a powerful, well-armed Soviet Union—that the Soviet Union could not have
boundary a powerful, well-armed Soviet Union. The Soviet Union participated in an imperialist and phony war which was
defense interests of the United States and the Soviet Union being conducted by Daladier and Chamberlain, be-
Union were interdependent. The existence of the Soviet Union would have meant becoming another victim of
Union depended on an unconquered United States. These appeasement plans of these Munich men.

It would have meant the isolation of the Soviet Union remains unconquered, and that a conquered Union and the turning of the Nazi army and its conquered Soviet Union is not just a case of a conquered machine entirely against the Soviet Union, Holland or France or Norway, but is a case of taking fact, from September 1, 1939, to the time of the invasion by Hitler of that which he needs to carry on a war of Holland, both Daladier and Chamberlain against the United States.

seeking again to appease Hitler and turn the war against a world with a conquered Soviet Russia, a war by Hitler, aided by his allies in England and commanded by Hitler, with all of the natural and industrial resources of the Soviet Union, with its tremendous oil reserves, with everything that Hitler needs to accomplished two justifiable purposes. One, that of carrying on his program of world conquest.

The taking of part of Poland by the Soviet Union, the defense, and two, that of saving a portion of the Polish people from the fury of Hitler. The history of votes? In England it would give such encouragement events since June 22 has demonstrated the correctness of the appeasement forces that a conquered Soviet Union of the Soviet position.

Now let me return to my discussion of the change Churchill, and put in his place those who are ready character of the war. The realities of the world of 1939, bring about a negotiated peace between England and and the realities of the world of 1940, up to June, 1941; and a negotiated peace between England and were such that Hitler, with his tremendous machine, Hitler will be really a peace of capitulation, because an could not move toward world conquest since he had been appeasement-controlled England will be a Nazi-conquered his eastern frontier a strong, well-armed Soviet Union, controlled England from every standpoint and especially and further that the Soviet Union possessed and won the standpoint of defense of our nation and our not give to Hitler the resources needed for his planned world conquest.

Further than that, what will it mean in the United We all know Hitler's plan of conquest, and I think? A conquered Soviet Union would mean, aside every person in this House must admit that Hitler, the geographic military danger that I have pointed out, we will face a strong possibility of conquest plan of world conquest cannot be achieved without first conquering the United States of America either from within. Here, too, the appeasement forces may within or from without. I think it becomes very obvious as every day goes by to every person who is including the Soviet Union.

interested in the defense of the United States, and in the continued existence of the United States as a free nation. Further, let us examine the situation in the East for that Hitler cannot conquer the United States as long as we have a fascist Japan serving a fascist ideology and

Japanese fascist interests, but imagine what kind of fascism, irrespective of their national character. The Japan we would be dealing with if the Soviet Union character of the war has changed and I have no other conquered. It would place Japan from a military standpoint to follow but to support a war of defeat in the same position that Mussolini was placed as vigorously as I opposed a war of imperialism by the conquest of Austria. Italy became a Nazi-dogression.

nated peninsula, playing Hitler's game from A to Z. For these reasons I now favor the President's foreign Why? Because of the presence of a tremendous Navy.

army that could rush down the Po Valley and take it. What do we mean by "defense"? In the light of as it has already done for all purposes and effect. The world situation, defense is no longer just a question

[Here the gavel fell]

waiting for the enemy to come to us. Defense means thwart the plan of the enemy.

MR. BLOOM: Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman three additional minutes.

World conquest is the plan of Hitler. Hitler has

MR. MARCANTONIO: So that we would no longer proceed toward this goal by using the one-dealing with a fascist Japan, but we would be dealt-at-a-time technique. The conquest of the United with a Nazi-dominated fascist Japan, ready to do what he wishes becomes very possible and feasible if we alone bidding of Adolf Hitler in his moves against the United States forced to fight a Hitler who would dominate not

only the Europe that he now dominates but the Soviet

Thus, for these reasons alone, as far as the American as well, with an England controlled by the people are concerned, the war has been transformed from a war of imperialism in character into a

war of national defense. Hence, the realities of a world war. To fight that kind of a Hitler and wait for that kind of 1939, 1940 to June, 1941, demanded a democratic situation to develop is, in my opinion, not defense; peace to end the imperialist war of that period. It would be bordering on national defeat. We must pre-realities of October, 1941, make such a peace impossible that situation from developing.

and demand the military defeat of Hitler. The military The arming of ships is necessary. defeat of Hitler is today America's only defense. I go further than that. I believe that what is necessary the only salvation for the people throughout the world is to repeal the entire Neutrality Act.

I submit therefore that, in now supporting the I go still further than that. I honestly believe, and very measures which I have opposed in the past, I believe and events will demonstrate, that what is essential supporting them for the same reasons which motivated defeat the Hitler plan of one nation at a time, that my opposition, namely, defense of our nation and not at a time, that what is therefore essential in order liberties and opposition to imperialism and opposition defend the United States, is for the United States of

America to do everything possible to bring about the opening of a western front, and thereby prevent the triumph of Hitler in the battles which he is now waging.

That, in my opinion, is the most realistic approach to this problem. It is necessary and inexorable in the interests of the defense of our country and of our national interests.

[Here the gavel fell.]

MR. BLOOM: Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman one additional minute.

MR. MARCANTONIO: Let us not permit another defeat of our defense interests to take place. If Hitler is victorious at Moscow and if we permit Hitler to be victorious in Russia, we shall be responsible again for what happened at the gates of Madrid.

When many of us protested and pointed out that the fall of Madrid would mean the beginning of a tremendous offensive against democracy we were ignored and shunned by those who sat in the seats of the mighty. Madrid fell, and the destruction of Republican Spain was followed by Munich and an imperialistic war.

Now there is forced upon us, as a result of that policy, a war of defense for our very existence. If we permit the battle of Moscow, the battle of Russia, to be lost by the people there, and if we permit Hitler's triumph, then we will face consequences which will be a great deal more perilous to our very existence than that which followed the fall of Madrid.

THE CHAIRMAN: The time of the gentleman from New York has again expired.

MR. TINKHAM: Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman one additional minute.

MR. MUNDT: Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

MR. MARCANTONIO: I yield.

MR. MUNDT: I would like to ask the gentleman from New York, in view of his present analysis of the situation, whether he would favor sending an American expeditionary force to help open this western front of which he speaks?

MR. MARCANTONIO: I will be honest with you. I think it is necessary in defense of our country. I am absolutely in favor of it, and I am not going to dodge any question on this issue. I stood alone many times when I opposed the imperialist war, and I am not going to evade my duty in advocating what is needed in the successful and speedy prosecution of a war in our own defense. You are not going to settle this issue of Hitler's world domination unless we are ready to open a western front. This is a war of defense of our country. We must not hesitate to fight in it.

MR. SCOTT: Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

MR. MARCANTONIO: I yield.

MR. SCOTT: Is it the point of view of the gentleman from New York that this war has become a righteous war only since the Communists entered it or not?

MR. MARCANTONIO: The issue is not communism. The issue is defense of our country. Because of the invasion of the Soviet Union and for the reasons that I have pointed out, namely, the establishment of a Nazi military bridgehead within rowboat distance of our northwestern territory—

THE CHAIRMAN: The time of the gentleman has again expired.

MR. MARCANTONIO: May I have at least one minute to answer the question?

MR. TINKHAM: I yield the gentleman an additional minute, Mr. Chairman.

MR. MARCANTONIO: For the reasons that I pointed out, namely, the establishment of a Nazi military bridgehead within rowboat distance of the United States, with Russia's tremendous resources falling into the hands of Hitler, by which he can carry on a war against the United States and the Western Hemisphere—a Nazi-controlled Japan, which would come about as a result of the conquest of the Soviet Union—those reasons transform the imperialist war of 1939, 1940 and up to June, 1941, into a war of defense—defense, as I have explained, and which I again repeat, of the United States.

It is not a question of the Soviet Union; it is a question of America. We are facing facts, and the realities of such a situation demand that we pursue the policy of defense to its very limit.

MR. SCOTT: If the gentleman would yield just a second and further, is it not a fact that the gentleman's interest in the defense of America to the extent to which he has just stated it dates from the day of the invasion of Soviet Russia by Germany?

MR. MARCANTONIO: My interest in the defense of America has existed since December 10, 1902, the day I was born.

THE END

THE following are excerpts from recent statements by political, business and labor leaders which illustrate how all sections of the American people are insisting that the Government must take action now to stop Hitler from attacking the U. S. eventually, as emphasized in Congressman Marcantonio's speech.

Franklin D. Roosevelt:

We would be blind to the realities if we did not recognize that Hitler is now determined to extend all the resources and all the mechanical force and manpower at his command to crush both Russia and Britain. . . . It is our duty, as never before, to send more and more assistance and aid more swiftly to Britain, to Russia, to all peoples and individuals fighting slavery. We must do this without fear or favor. The ultimate fate of the Western Hemisphere is in the balance."

Wendell Willkie:

We can no more negotiate a peace with the warlords of Tokyo than with the conquering dictator of Berlin. On this continent, in every ocean, we can only stop the partners in piracy. They are winning now. Unless we act soon, it will be too late."

William Green, President American Federation of Labor:

"We are going to advise the President of the United States that we will give him all we have in support of his program, and we will tell him further that if it is necessary we will take more decisive action in order to maintain freedom of the seas and to protect democracy throughout the world, we will stand by him and follow to the bitter end."

**Now is the Time to Demonstrate our Over-
whelming Support of an Immediate All-Out
Program to Smash Hitlerism!**

Repeal the Neutrality Act!

***Join Great Britain in opening a Western Front
against Hitler!***

Stop the Japanese fascists in their tracks!

Increase U. S. production a hundred-fold!

***Release a torrent of planes, tanks and other war
materials to the soldiers of the Soviet Union, Great
Britain and China!***

***Defeat the forces of appeasement and fascism in the
United States!***

***Overcome public apathy! Speak out for an im-
mediate smash-Hitler policy!***

Circulate Congressman Vito Marcantonio's fighting pa-
phlet *Should America Go to War?* Distribute it in your
trade unions and fraternal organizations, at shop gates and
on street corners. Order now! Price: \$1 per hundred per
paid. Write for special prices on larger orders.

AMERICAN PEOPLE'S MOBILIZATION

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